a situation. The tendency is for most persons to remain 595
monogamous, and the usual reason for taking a second wife
is the failure of the first to produce a male heir when, [591]
at the same time, the husband is loathe to divorce the
barren woman in question. Re'uf Effendi was "thinking" of
marrying a second wife who could replace the son he had
lost, because the woman to whom he had been married for
many years had passed the stage of child-bearing. He has
not, however, carried out this intention yet. Sometimes a
wife herself will suggest suggest the second marriage. In
Rowanduz, in 1951, there were no men with a plurality of
brides. It was said that some of the chieftains in older
times had been able to maintain a number of wives in
separate establishments, but most of this seems to have
disappeared.

The preferred form of marriage is that between a 582
man and his father's brother's daughter. If the father
and the uncle live under the same roof, it can be seen that
such a match prevents the money from being paid into a
strange pal, and in marriages of this type the stipulated
sum of the money is often highly fictional. In Kurdistan
a man simply has the first claim on his paternal uncle's
daughter, and his consent must first be obtained if she
is to marry someone else. A bitter feud can ensue if the [578]
parents of the maiden, in view of some advantageous alliance,
override this prerogative. If an idealized situation is
imagined in which the prescription that a man must marry

In the concept of the inequality of male and female, the 562
second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Hutu, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater [46.2]
social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rwanda, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discredited by 555
being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two 634
worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the 577
are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost 542
[illegible] 558
matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grand- [49]
father prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ba'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she wore her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The surviving of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shaikh Affendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the gol. little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

relies. The husband or his relatives may be forced to 586
pay the ~~price~~, always a considerable sum, and the
father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried
woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with
the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separa-
tions of varying length are thus as common as divorce,
during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed,
one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness 842
puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, 586
for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override
his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in
those matches in which he had little to do with his
choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after
the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially
for this reason that a young married woman is so desirous
of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain
popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing
a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not contem- [595]
plate a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce
follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kuvda do not
believe that because a woman has been childless in one
marriage she will remain so in the next.

The life of adults in Rawanda, once the problems 461
of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has
little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons
of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the
greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood,
and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats [582].

to its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's premises could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Quran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this was the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat, but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[*].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 20 and two daughters aged 23 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (18, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 5 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to see semt while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[**]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion while changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kiz*. Muhammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Quran that male children are more desirable than female[***]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

842 [845] [889] 198 Circumcision - Naming

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband problems?

neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[198], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[199], by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fixing ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 850 Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Jeyrihel[200] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Ghorayl[201], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

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852 553 [551] Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Harmy (Ezel)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, Sandar, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Aliya, Galia, Mufida, Nahid, Nahida, Sahiba.*

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[202]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Shaikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Shaikh" Taifur. In my experience the term shaikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Shaikh Tajdin* and his brother, usually called "Mamlah-Effendi", but whose real name was *Abdul Qadir Shaikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in common. There was also a third brother, *Kaka Rizi* (Elder brother R.) or *Shaikh Rizi*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Shaikh Taifur was likewise addressed as *Shaikh Sandar*. Thus the word shaikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barjot[203] and Lerch[204], both of whom confuse the term "Shaikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Shaikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[205] and also that, as maintained by Lerch: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[206]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[207].

[911] Addresses like these, used in Arabia and Iran[208] "father to, slave of, son of ..... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

557 562 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Hanny, not Madame Harmzi. In addition a peculiarity of the Kurds –the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[209]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bebe Khan, called Shaikh Taifur's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Mullah Khan.

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858 184 *The kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community